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Revolutionary Struggle of the Toiling Masses of Japan

Speech by

OKANO

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CONTENTS

		Page
I.	War Preparations Against the U.S.S.R.	3
II.	The Fascist Military Dictatorship	6
III.	Chauvinism and War	10
IV.	The Fascization of Social-Democracy	13
V.	The Struggles of the Communist Party	17
VI.	Conclusion	29

Revolutionary Struggle of the Toiling Masses of Japan

By OKANO

I. War Preparations Against the U.S.S.R.

THE entire policy of the Japanese ruling class, internal as well as external, is at the present time concentrated on the preparation of an attack against the U.S.S.R.

In April this year, the official Reservist Association, patronized by the War Minister and claiming a membership of three million ex-soldiers, published a popular pamphlet entitled *The World Plot, and the Communist Party of Japan.* The author of this pamphlet writes:

> "The Communist Party of Japan is the catspaw of the Soviet government, which aims at annexing Japan through the Comintern. In other words, the C.P. of Japan is the spy, the hireling of Russia. . . . Red Russia's action is of a double nature; invasion by arms and invasion by thoughts. We hope that the reader of this book will realize whether the Non-Aggression Pact is good or bad."

The importance of this book is not only that it is published openly by powerful military mass organizations, but also, that it is highly recommended by the present War Minister, Araki, in the introduction he wrote to it. In June the same Araki wrote about his political views to the Prime Minister as follows:

> "The solution of the problem of dangerous thoughts [that means Communism—O.] is the basis of all national questions, and it affects the fate of our nation. . . . In connection with the dissemination of these thoughts, Japan's attitude to the U.S.S.R. is of vital importance." (*Jiji*, June 7.)

When Comrade Molotov made a reply to the provocations of the Japanese imperialists at the celebration of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution in Mos-

cow, the Japanese press expressed the attitude of the Japanese government toward his speech:

> "The government and the people must unite national opinion on the U.S.S.R. and express its decisive attitude. That is to say, we must prepare to answer the U.S.S.R. with politics of power and diplomacy of power. . . . Japan must take a firm policy against the U.S.S.R." (*Manshu-Nippo*, Nov. 9, 1933.)

Already in October, 1933, Araki told the press that "The great events will become mature within a twelvemonth." (*Nihon,* Oct. 8, 1933.) This means that he is affirming that Japanese imperialism is preparing to attack the U.S.S.R. shortly.

War against the revolutionary proletariat of Japan and against the fatherland of the world proletariat—this is the central, basic policy of the Japanese bourgeoisie, landlords and monarchy.

Comrade Kuusinen already spoke about the war preparations and the provocations of the Japanese imperialists against the U.S.S.R. Everybody knows that the Japanese government, led by Araki, persistently refused to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. on the question of concluding a non-aggression pact. It is deliberately sabotaging the negotiations in connection with the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was proposed by the U.S.S.R. In October 1933 the Japanese military clique attempted to capture by force all the lines of this railway, but this intrigue was exposed in time by the Soviet government and ended in temporary failure.

Japan is now feverishly preparing for war. The military expenditures provided in the budget for next year amount to 1,230,000,000 yen. This constitutes 60 per cent of the budget. A large amount is allotted to the reorganization and mechanization of the army. This reorganization is aimed at fitting the Japanese army for battle on the plains of Siberia. In 1933, 1,600 special officers were newly drafted from the

reserves. Militarization of the youth and schools is going on with rapid strides. In the same year a huge mass auxiliary military organization entitled the "National Defence League," with a membership of ten million, was organized by the military authorities. This organization embraces all existing nationalist youth organizations.

In one year about fifty new works were built in Japan, in which tanks, aeroplanes, trucks, explosives and other munitions are to be produced. We have no figures of the rapid increase of their production, but the consumption of iron and steel increased by 35 per cent in the first half of 1933 as compared with the last half of the previous year.

Along with the growing trend of anti-Soviet propaganda and provocation, military maneuvers directed against the U.S.S.R. were carried out in 1933 in the Fukui District, which is the strategic base against the U.S.S.R. In September a maneuver took place on a large scale in Kyushu, for which all mechanical forces were mobilized; in Tokyo also air defence maneuvers were carried out against an imaginary air attack from the Red Army.

Already in June 1932, the chief commander of the army declared that there were munitions and provisions in Manchuria with which 600,000 soldiers could be supplied, *i.e.*, three times more than the ordinary army.

Under pretext of offering relief to the army and increasing emigration, a large number of soldiers have been dispatched to Manchuria to settle there, including 2,200 ex-soldiers sent under the pretext of finding employment. There are 600 soldier settlers in Kiling. The Ministry of the Colonies published a scheme for the dispatch of another 2,000 soldier-settlers.

The most important preparation against the U.S.S.R. was the now completed construction of the strategically most important railway line between Korea and Manchuria, which connects Japan with the center of Manchuria in two and

a half days. With the completion of this railway, Japan can send an army of two million and a half to the borders of the U.S.S.R. in half the time required before. New air lines and military roads were constructed, covering the whole of Manchuria. A direct telephone line from Tokyo to the capital of Manchuria was established.

These are facts taken from the Japanese press, which show the furious preparations for war made by Japan against the U.S.S.R.

II. The Fascist, Military Dictatorship

In order to carry through their aggressive war policy and the ruthless suppression of the working class movement with utmost resolution and cruelty, the Japanese ruling classes are striving to concentrate all their political forces in the so-called "strong government." The slogan "strong government" is the slogan common to all strata of the ruling class.

The meaning of this slogan is to strengthen the existing monarchist apparatus under the Mikado, because the Japanese monarchy is a highly-centralized state apparatus which represents the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, decides and carries through their unified policies, and is at the same time a powerful repressive weapon which surpresses all resistance of the masses of the people with the help of the fiercest military-police terror, surpassing even the furious terror in the countries of European fascism.

A question arises: Is the coming dictatorship a mere repetition of the existing monarchy? Is there nothing new in the coming government of the fascist monarchist military clique?

Yes, there are very important differences. Firstly, the fact that monopoly capital will be much more closely and strongly combined with the monarchist elements, increasing

its political weight in the coming government. Secondly, the fact that this government will strive to smash all existing legal and semi-legal proletarian mass organizations with more brutal methods, and at the same time to start immediately the military attack against the U.S.S.R. Thirdly, a more important difference lies in the fact that the new dictatorship will use social demagogy and utilize the fascist mass movements in order to win the support of the petty-bourgeois masses, just as formerly Parliament was utilized for deceiving the masses, and in this way to find a new mass basis for the monarchy in the petty bourgeoisie in the villages and towns, which in Japan constitutes to a much greater extent a predominant majority of the population than in Europe. It is this fascization of the monarchy which is quite new. This is the peculiar character of Japanese reaction and fascism. Herein lies the most dangerous character of the new type of monarchist dictatorship. Underestimation of this difference may lead to opportunist passivity in the fight against the most reactionary dictatorship.

It is almost certain that the military clique of Japan will become the central figure in the coming most reactionary government, because it is the most powerful force in the Japanese monarchist system whose political importance, great as it is, will yet increase more and more with the approach of a new great war and with the sharpening of the class struggle in the country. This military clique is following the examples of Italian and German fascism. In order to seize power, the military is utilizing the social discontent of the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie in the villages and towns—utilizing their disillusion in the parliamentary parties, utilizing their antagonisms against finance capital in order to strengthen its political position and to mobilize the masses for war.

The military clique is taking advantage of every oppor-

tunity to give the small and the middle bourgeoisie the impression that the military clique is the only force which can bring Japan out of the present and avert the future crisis. Araki pretends to be the saviour of the peasants by proposing a large amount for relief funds for the peasants, and by chattering loudly about relief for the villages. His followers—young officers who participated in Inukai's assassination last year—loudly expressed their indignation with finance capital and the parliamentary parties which sacrificed the interests of the villages. Araki also assumed the role of a saviour of the middle and small manufacturers by declaring that all orders for munitions will be delivered to them and therefore they will profit from the huge amount of the military budget.

Araki is making use of the dissatisfaction of the small and middle bourgeoisie for the establishment of the military dictatorship, directing this discontent against the parliamentary parties which are rotten to the core.

The military clique relies, first of all, on the officers of the army and navy in active service, the Reservist Association, which I mentioned previously, and other military auxiliaries—organizations which reach considerable numbers. Of particular importance are the chauvinist organizations of the young officers who take the direct command of the soldiers and are closely linked up with the landlords and kulaks.

Secondly, the military clique relies on the numerous nationalist, semi-fascist and fascist organizations, the majority of which are reorganized from either the old reactionary organizations or the social-democratic parties. These organizations are trying to copy European fascism, utilizing various methods of social-demagogy; however, up to the present time they have not succeeded in winning the masses.

At the same time, without abandoning their demagogic

slogans about fighting finance capital and so-called bourgeois parties, the military clique is simultaneously seeking to get on closer terms with finance capital, trying to prove that the army is the most organized force in the struggle for the way out of the crisis and the only power capable of saving the country from revolution and to carry out the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

It is important to note that some representatives of the big bourgeoisie openly clamor for such a military dictatorship. Tsuda, director of the biggest cotton spinning company, Kanetafuchi, in one of his articles wrote:

> "The military circles will attain political power. The present politicians have already lost their *raison d'etre.*" (*Kitugyo-no-Sekai.*)

The Japanese bourgeoisie considers the establishment of such a military dictatorship to be inevitable. The present Minister of Finance said openly that:

> "If affairs continue to run in their present course, it is greatly to be feared that Japan will be dominated by a dictatorship." (*Trans-Pacific.*)

In Japan the establishment of a still harsher terrorist military-fascist dictatorship in the name of the Mikado is very near at hand. This is extremely important and dangerous for the revolutionary movement of Japan, as well as for the world proletariat, since Japanese imperialism is the most ruthless suppressor of the workers' movement and the direct instigator of war against the U.S.S.R., as well as the initiator of a new world war.

A stubborn fight to crush such an attempt is the chief task of the Japanese Communist Party. We must explain to the masses that the present Saito government is a government which directly prepares the establishment of the most reactionary dictatorship, that social fascism and fascism are supporting this counter-revolutionary attempt of their mas-

ters by poisoning the masses with social-demagogies, that such a military-monarchist dictatorship brings to the masses more oppression and repression, more starvation, more calamities. In fighting this, we must mobilize not only the proletariat and poor peasants, but also all elements which are against war and reaction.

III. Chauvinism and War

The chief weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for the purpose of maintaining their influence on the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie is chauvinism, patriotism and nationalism. All fascist reactionary, patriotic organizations, as well as the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions, are being fully mobilized for chauvinist propaganda and carry on their campaigns under the direction of the military. Chauvinist slogans have undergone a change according to the development of the war situation.

For example, at the outbreak of the military intervention in Manchuria in September 1931, the Japanese ruling classes, headed by the military clique, put up such promising slogans as "Paradise in Manchuria," "War Boom," "Prosperity Comes from Manchuria," "No More Unemployment," etc.

However, in two years of war the Japanese rulers have been betraying these promises and the expectations of the people. Japan is losing more than she is gaining from war. This is recognized even by Araki. Early this year he made a report on the war to the Mikado, in which he admitted that "the economic achievement of the Manchurian events was secondary—the primary, chief achievement was the unification of the nation." (*Asahi.*)

The economic crisis, and, above all, the agrarian crisis, have never lessened, but on the contrary are taking on sharper forms. The exploitation of Manchuria cannot compensate for the colossal amount of war expenditures and the great

loss of Japanese trade in Central China. The war has already incurred an expenditure of 573,000,000 yen of state finances, while the war estimate for the next fiscal year will amount to 1,230,000,000 yen. This budget swallows the total of the state income, and creates a huge deficit of one billion yen. This deficit is covered by the repeated issue of state loans, which already total nearly nine billion yen. The mere interest on these loans amounts to more than 500,000,000 yen in a year. This is causing a complete breakdown of the state finances.

Japan stands on the eve of a great financial crisis, which may lead to the complete bankruptcy of national economy. This situation makes the friction between the ruling circles ever sharper and sharper. It is true that the temporary "boom" in the war industries and foreign trade has produced colossal profits for the militarists and a handful of financial and industrial magnates, but this "boom" has never decreased the number of unemployed workers. It has transformed the country into a huge workhouse of prisoners watched by gendarmes. Working hours in the war industries are generally from 14 to 16 hours. Real wages have dropped by about 20 per cent on an average.

In the villages the peasants are literally starving. In many villages the peasants are emigrating *en masse* to Manchuria, but they are sent back from there, because there is no occupation and no suitable land for them.

Under these conditions, the toiling masses are beginning to lose their illusions regarding war. Discontent is spreading among the broad strata of the people. Araki came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned optimistic slogans now became dangerous, and put up a new central slogan: "Prepare for the 1935-36 crisis!" This means that in that year Japan will stand at the unprecedented critical moment and must fight against all foreign and internal enemies, because,

firstly, the Washington and London naval agreements expire in the year 1935, and the American naval forces will surpass the Japanese; and secondly, the South Sea Islands mandated to Japan by the League of Nations will have to be handed back to the League, owing to Japan's withdrawal from the League; thirdly, the second Five-Year Plan will be completed in the U.S.S.R.; fourthly, the Chinese Revolution and Soviet China will have expanded; and fifthly, what Araki cannot speak about openly, but what he fears most, is the revolt of the masses. At present this new slogan is playing a big role in winning the support of the petty bourgeoisie; it helps to hold in check their discontent with prophecies of the approaching horrors and in this way suppress any opposition, to unite and concentrate all forces under the leadership of the military clique.

In the chauvinistic, patriotic and nationalist propaganda, Japanese fascism is playing a big part. It put up such demagogic slogans: "Down with the Financial Oligarchy!" "Against the present parliamentary parties, the agents of financial capital!" "Down with the Communist Party and Social-Democracy!" "Nationalization of all the wealth of Manchuria!" "For the liberation of Asia from the white race!" "Crush Red Russia!" etc. Social fascism plays no less important role. It raised the slogans: "Manchuria for socialism," "Great Asiatic Federation!" etc.

The fight against chauvinism—this is the central struggle of the Communist Party of Japan. We must daily and concretely expose the chauvinist propaganda and the national, social demagogy of the military, the fascists and the social-fascists who conceal their real essence as agents of the big bourgeoisie, the big landlords and the monarchy. We must oppose this propaganda by means of a clear program for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, a program of revolutionary measures of the future Soviet power of the Japan-

ese workers and peasants, and especially by the prospects of a fraternal alliance of the liberated peoples of the East.

Along with its wide chauvinist propaganda, the monarchist government is taking unheard-of repressive measures against the revolutionary workers' movement. The severity of repression surpasses all the horrors of European fascism. The police have given out information that in one year, in 1932, 7,000 Communists and sympathizers were arrested. However, during the nine months of this year, according to the bourgeois press, 8,000 revolutionary workers and peasants have been arrested. About 50 Communists perished in jail last year. Two members of the C.C. of the Party and a very popular Communist writer, Kobayashi, were murdered in the police stations.

Many years ago the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Trade Unions, the Anti-Imperialist League, the I.L.D. and the Anti-Religious League were driven underground. This year, the cultural organizations, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Left Peasants' Union, Workers' International Relief, the Labor Research Institute and book publishers were suppressed. Even 22 lawyers were arrested on the grounds that they defended Communists. Recently the government has begun to persecute even the workers' co-operative societies. The workers' hospitals were closed in Tokyo and Osaka, and the doctors and nurses were arrested in March because they organized a campaign under the influence of the Workers' Relief Committees, for the relief of peasants stricken by famine. Even the meetings of the "Left" reformist trade unions, *e.g.*, Haido, were dispersed and the leaders arrested (Osaka). All literature supposedly "endangering the safety of the state" is suppressed and burned.

These are a few examples of the present terror in Japan. The present Japanese monarchist government has been do-

ing what Mussolini and Hitler did and are doing after their capture of power.

Along with their repressive measures, the police are trying to turn the weakest elements of the imprisoned Communists into renegades and provocateurs by means of threats and bribes. An outstanding example of this is Sano, who became a ringleader of these dirty, shameless provocateurs. Notwithstanding these repressions and the criminal betrayal of the former "Communists," our Party has not become weaker but on the contrary grows stronger and stronger.

IV. The Fascization of Social-Democracy

Along with the serious danger of the military dictatorship and the growth of the fascist mass movement, we see in the recent months a marked trend towards fascization among the Japanese Social-Democrats. Already last year, the small group of the reactionary wing of Social-Democracy, led by Akamatsu, went over to the fascist camp, while the majority remained in the Social-Democratic camp. However, the last six months show that this majority, led by the trade union bureaucrats, is going to follow the example of Akamatsu. It is difficult to find a line of demarcation between the Social-Democratic leaders and the fascists. From their ideology and actions it was difficult to distinguish between some of the Social-Democratic leaders and the fascists. The only difference is that they use less nationalist demagogy than the fascists. They openly hand over revolutionary workers to the police. They betray and break strikes. They openly declare their co-operation with the capitalists and make deals with them under the pretext of collective bargaining for the sake of "peace and prosperity in industry." For example, Rodo-Sodomei, one of the biggest reformist federations of trade unions, organized a special meeting of the leaders in September of 1933 to discuss

"How to Fight Communism," and Rodo-Sodomei showed itself in the factories in the role of police agents or provocateurs handing over revolutionary workers to the police. Nisio, the leader of Rodo-Sodomei, declared at the September, 1933, Conference, that:

> "The fascist movement is not our follower, but not our enemy . . . because they are fighting against capitalism as we do." (*Shakai-Undo-Tsusin.*)

In October the same Nisio called a conference of trade union leaders, government officials, representatives of owners of middle and small workshops, amidst the applause of the employers, advocated "the avoidance of disputes with the middle and small employers" and advised to "enter into collective bargaining," because "the middle and small owners are not our enemies, since they are against the big bourgeoisie." (*Shakai-Undo-Tsusin.*)

Here is another example: Hamada, head of the Japanese Seamen's Union, the biggest union affiliated to the Amsterdam Transport International, wrote an article in November in which he said:

> "Our labor movement aims at bringing about the prosperity of labor and capital as well as of our whole nation. . . . Labor conflicts lead to the decline of industry and of the nation. . . . Labor and capital must not insist upon their rights, but must honestly do their duty." (*Kaiin.*)

The Social-Democratic Party, Shakai-Taishu-to, published in June the so-called program of Four New Principles, namely, the calling of a National Economic Conference, of a Conference of the Eastern Peoples and Wholesale Inflation and Higher Taxes. There is nothing new in that; it is an imitation of Italian fascism and of Araki's policy.

The attitude of Social-Democracy towards war is already well known to you. You remember that Hamada openly argued that the present war in Manchuria is a progressive war because Japan is poor and China is rich. Last year the

Trade Union Congress, under his leadership, raised the demagogic slogan "against imperialist war!" But this year the same Congress dropped even this demagogic slogan and pledged itself to be a loyal servant of the Mikado and his hangman, Araki. Shakai-Taishu-to put up the slogan: "Conclusion of a Non-Aggression Pact with the U.S.S.R." But it goes without saying that this slogan is nothing but a trick to sidetrack the revolutionary anti-war struggles of the masses. Japanese Social-Democracy is completely in the hands of its masters, the Japanese imperialists.

Their open, shameless surrender clearly shows that Japanese Social-Democracy is doing its utmost to clear the way for transforming its organizations into the organs of the imperialist government, into organs of mass support to reactionary war. The difference between social-fascism and fascism in Japan is vanishing more and more and is quite insignificant, reducing itself to Social-Democracy's clinging to demagogy. We may, therefore, say that there is no need for the military dictatorship in Japan to resort to the drastic measures taken by Hitler in Germany, for the purpose of the complete fascization and militarization of the reformist trade unions.

The role of Japanese Social-Democracy in the preparation for war against the U.S.S.R., as well as in the establishment of a military dictatorship is particularly great. It still has about 300,000 workers under its influence, which constitutes 85 per cent of the total of organized labor. Therefore, it is carrying out a most important function when it attempts to lead the industrial workers towards fascism and makes ideological and organizational preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.

We see the upper strata of Social-Democracy rapidly growing fascist and at the same time we see opposite trends among the rank and file Social-Democratic workers. This is

shown by the drop in the membership of the reformist unions. For example, last year, the Sodomei Eastern Council lost two unions and 500 members, while another reformist organization, Zenro, lost seven unions and a membership of 3,500. At the same time, our revolutionary oppositions in these reformist trade unions have grown. For example, in one branch of the Sodomei twenty Communist workers were arrested in July 1933, and in Zenro, a strike broke out against the wish of the leadership, in the Osaka Metal Works, etc. The strength of the revolutionary oppositions is likewise increasing inside other important reformist trade unions.

V. The Struggles of the Communist Party

Growing Influence and Strength of the Communist Party of Japan. We fully agree with Comrade Kuusinen when he said in his report at this Plenum that the characteristic feature of the present political situation in Japan is that there is a simultaneous mobilization of the forces of counter-revolution and a growth of the forces of revolution, and that Japan is actually on the eve of a great class conflict.

The revolutionary wave is rising together with the intensification of chauvinism and terror. We can see this in the strengthening of the resistance of the toiling masses of town and country.

This year labor conflicts in the big munition factories are breaking out more and more frequently. Thirty-four per cent of the conflicts are for higher wages and other aggressive demands. Strikes tend to spread in other branches of industry and take the form of mass struggles, as in the Osaka Metal Strike, the Nagaya Aeroplane Works, etc. The number of peasant conflicts increased this year, and 62 per cent of them were directed against driving the peasants off the land. These conflicts always end in sanguinary clashes with the police and fascists.

The growing revolutionary ferment is clearly shown by the fact that the influence and strength of our Party and of the illegal revolutionary trade union federation, Dzenkio, is steadily growing in spite of the extremely difficult conditions.

In October-December last year, 1,504 Communists and sympathizers were arrested throughout the country, including the majority of the C.C. members and the editor of our central organ. A number of our best comrades were murdered. Nevertheless, our Party continued the regular publication of our organ, *Sekki,* which is issued every five days. In October, a month ago, sixteen printing shops printing our organ were raided, and twenty printers were arrested. The bourgeois press informs that in spite of this, our *Sekki* persistently continues to appear. This shows that our Party, confronted with a general attack of the enemy, has never for a single moment hauled down its flag.

Our Party was built eleven years ago by a small group of revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Comintern and Comrade Sen Katayama. These eleven years of struggle have forged and steeled our Party. We can say boldly here that our Party is no longer merely a group of revolutionaries, but a political Party which is winning the support of the toiling masses; a Party which with certain successes is organizing and leading the struggle of the masses against imperialist war, against capitalist exploitation and for a Soviet Japan.

We will, for example, produce the following facts. Here are preliminary statistics collected from the bourgeois press. According to these, about 7,861 arrests took place during the first nine months of this year. Of these, 688 were Party members and sympathizers, 616 were members and sympathizers of the Y.C.L.; 2,605 belonged to illegal revolutionary trade unions; 804 belonged to revolutionary peasant

unions; 646 were students; 352 teachers; 25 soldiers. In these mass arrests, 41 nuclei were destroyed. It is worth while noting that 289 women were included in them. This shows the improvement in our work among the working women. These figures show merely the number of arrested Communists, but not the numerical strength of the Communist Party. At any rate, the above facts eloquently speak not only of the intensification of terror and reaction, but also of the growth of our revolutionary strength.

Here is another example which shows how the masses are supporting our Party. In July last year, a mass trial of 200 Communists took place in Tokyo. The masses, whose indignation was roused by this trial, began to protest against the monarchist court, demanding the immediate release of the Communists. Within two months 3,024 signatures and 150 resolutions of workers against the trial were brought in the court. For this purpose a mass organization was formed which was joined not only by the revolutionary workers, but also by the workers of the reformist unions as well as by intellectuals, professors and petty-bourgeois elements. On July 25, workers' demonstrations took place in several districts of Tokyo which ended in clashes with the police. According to information at hand, in Koto, one of the workers' districts in Tokyo, about 1,500 workers demonstrated on the streets under the slogans: "Release the Communists!" "Long live the Communist Party!" "Defend the U.S.S.R.!"

Anti-War Struggle. While speaking about our achievements during the past year, we must first of all note our persistent and systematic exposure of the anti-Soviet provocations and the war preparations of Japanese imperialism. Take for example our campaign in connection with the negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway in June 1933. From the very beginning of the negotiations,

our Party persistently and systematically exposed the intrigues of Japanese imperialism aimed at the seizure of the railway. This campaign of exposure was closely linked up with the exposure of the war preparations of the Japanese militarists against the U.S.S.R. in contrast with the peaceful policy of the Soviet government. We have here the issues of our organ of June and July and find that the front page of each of them has been devoted to this campaign. More important, however, is that our Party did not confine its campaign to mere propaganda in the press, but made every effort to organize mass demonstrations against Japanese imperialism on July 1, under the following slogans:

"Crush the plot to grab the Chinese Eastern Railway!"
"Defend the Fatherland of the Workers and Peasants!"
"Immediate withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria, Jehol, North China, and from the borders of the U.S.S.R.!"
"For the Workers' and Peasants' Government!"

I believe that this is the proper attitude and method for the Bolshevik Party to adopt against the anti-Soviet provocation and for the defence of the fatherland of the world proletariat.

The last Plenum of the Comintern approved the heroic struggle of our Party against war. Since then our Party has never slackened this struggle in spite of incessant mass arrests. All demonstrations, economic struggles and campaigns were always linked up with the fight against war.

For example, on December 4, 1932, we organized illegal mass demonstrations throughout the country in protest against the white terror, against the murder of Comrade Iwata, who was a member of the C.C. Not only the workers who are under our influence, but also those under the influence of the Left reformist unions, took part in these demonstrations. Here is an extract from the bourgeois press on the funeral demonstration:

"Several legal and illegal 'Left' societies organized campaigns of protest and demonstrations in connection with the death of a Communist in jail. However, before the date of the funeral all the members of the committee which organized the campaign were arrested. The headquarters of the Left trade unions were raided and many arrests were made. The meeting hall was surrounded by 550 police; 150 workers were arrested before they reached the hall. The workers discovered that the protest meeting could not take place. Then they organized a demonstration, shouting 'Long live the Communist Party of Japan'. A clash took place between the demonstrators and the police in the course of which 250 were arrested in Tokyo.

"On the same day, in Osaka, 50 arrests took place. In Nagoya, the workers organized memorial meetings at which many arrests were made." (*Tokyo Asahi.*)

Our Party organized another political demonstration on March 15 of this year against the murder of Comrade Kobayashi, one of the most popular Communist writers. The police suppressed the organization of a funeral demonstration. But in Tokyo several partial demonstrations took place which resulted in clashes with the police. In Osaka we succeeded in mobilizing audiences of 5,000 to the theaters at which Comrade Kobayashi's play was performed.

We must emphasize that these demonstrations were always linked up with the slogan: "Against imperialist war!" "Defend the U.S.S.R.!"

In connection with our fight against the preparation of an anti-Soviet war and for the "Defence of the U.S.S.R.," let us note a fact which shows that the Japanese toiling masses keenly support the U.S.S.R., in spite of the furious anti-Soviet demagogy: early this year the Japanese section of the Friends of the Soviet Union was organized. The society decided to send a delegation to the U.S.S.R. The delegation was elected at mass meetings. Forty-eight factories sent their representatives to a meeting which elected a woman delegate. This is a clear expression of the attitude of the Japanese workers towards the U.S.S.R.

In the Factories. During last year (1932) our anti-war struggle was in the nature of manifestations on the part of the advanced guard of the proletariat which largely took place in the streets rather than in the factories and mills. However, this year these manifestations began to be conducted inside the factories, they became linked up with the economic struggles and, supported by the broad masses, assume a mass character. It is becoming a mass struggle. This is a political fact of vital importance.

This year, by mobilizing all the forces at its disposal, the government organized a wide campaign among the workers, for contributions to the war funds with the aim of imbuing the workers with chauvinism and depriving them of part of their wages. The contributions were either compulsory or were extorted by the threat of discharge, arrest, etc. In this way the government collected 1,380,000 yen. Thereupon the fascist party together with other parties started another campaign for "Subscription to the War Loan." During this period, the spontaneous discontent and opposition of the masses became more widespread. Our Party took this opportunity to develop the anti-war struggle of the workers, skilfully linking it up with their demands in the factories. To take a few examples, in the Kobe Steel Works, which employs 3,000 workers, we organized in March a mass campaign against contributions to war funds, linking it up with the demand for a 20 per cent increase in wages and the improvement of factory conditions. This is one of the finest examples of the linking up of the anti-war struggles with the daily demands of the working class. In another munition factory the workers refused to make the required contribution to the "Air Defence Fund," but decided to send this money to the anti-war conference at Shanghai. This is another example of how we converted the war fund into an anti-war fund.

In the Oki machine building works 300 workers evaded the war contribution; 1,000 woodworkers refused to accept forced labor, sabotaging the work. In two Tokyo tram depots the workers held meetings and made resolutions to refuse to contribute to the war funds. In Onitabi Works, 200 workers refused to contribute and their leaders were arrested. In the Oi Railway Workshops 2,000 workers were forced to contribute and their discontent led to the formation of a factory committee.

Now, in the villages, which are the main basis of reaction, we witness a similar movement. For example, almost the whole population of Asamai obstinately refused to pay 700 yen, the imposition made by the municipal authorities on the village. The peasants near Toyama City commenced a mass struggle against the construction of the aerodrome. In Kagoshima, the peasant women under the leadership of the Left Peasant Union organized a campaign against compulsory contribution to the war funds.

I must lay stress on the fact that our work in the munition factories has exceedingly improved this year. We quote here a few examples from our Party organ *Sekki*:

> "Early this year, in one munition factory which receives orders from the Navy, we organized a factory committee elected by all the employees, and demanded higher wages and improvement of labor conditions. These demands were refused. All the workers became indignant. One revolutionary worker boldly rushed to the motor and stopped all the machines. Immediately a mass meeting was called. Frightened by this, the employers surrendered and were compelled to make a 20 per cent increase in wages and recognize the factory committee." (*Sekki*, No. 226.)

Here is another example: In the Mitsubisi Shipyard in Kobe, one of the biggest yards which employs 4,000 workers, we had last year a strong nucleus and published one of the best shop papers. In February 1933, in spite of the arrest, our revolutionary opposition in the reformist union took the initiative in organizing a strike in the machine department

after three months' careful preparation. The strike was joined by all the workers of the shipyards and began to spread to other enterprises. It ended in a compromise owing to the betrayal of the reformist leaders and mass arrests. But it gave a strong impetus to the strike movement of the munition factories in recent times.

Our Party also participated in one of the biggest strikes which took place in the Mitsubisi Aeroplane works, Nagoya.

The campaign for the calling of factory delegates' conferences has been spreading. In April we attempted to call a conference of representatives from four large munition factories in Tokyo. In Nagoya there was an attempt to organize a conference of representatives from the watch-making factories. In the Koto district, Tokyo, 15 factories participated in this campaign.

According to the *Shakai-Tsusin* for September the Metal Workers Union during seven months "organized its branches in 40 metal factories in the Tokyo district alone." This is no small success.

It is very important from the viewpoint of our anti-war struggles that our Party gained some successes on the state railways where hitherto we had no organization. Strong nuclei were organized in this most difficult industry. In August last year, according to the press, the Party won 20 per cent more members and supporters than before. At the Hamamatsu station 20 railwaymen were arrested. Arrests were also made at the Nara station, at the Toba, and the Wakamatsu stations, etc.

In the Joban coal mines, 96 miners have been arrested for revolutionary work. In Nagoya ten postmen and in Mayebashi, eight were arrested for Communist work. In almost all the important newspaper offices in Tokyo, arrests were made for Communist work.

In large department stores, we also have our comrades.

At the firm Mitsukoshi 80 employees were arrested and at the Hoteiya eight were arrested.

Arrests were also made in a number of most important hospitals.

As to work among the unemployed, we have attained important achievements. In Nagoya, a city celebration was organized by the municipal authorities involving an expenditure of 100,000 yen. The unemployed committees which were under our influence took the opportunity, demanding the payment of benefits to the unemployed. They organized several demonstrations. Five thousand unemployed took part in this campaign which ended in complete victory for the unemployed.

In this period our work in the trade unions belonging to Dzenkio, as well as in the reformist trade unions improved. The illegal trade unions affiliated to Dzenkio have a membership of over 20,000 in all the important industries. The police reports show that in seven months (1933) 1,696 members of Dzenkio were arrested in the district of Tokyo alone. This year, Dzenkio organized independently the strikes in several small and middle factories, but is still very weak in the big factories, in the metal and transport industries. We must openly say that the weak spot in our Party is still our work in the reformist trade unions.

Our Work in the Villages. In the villages, too, our Party can register some achievements in its work. For example: in November last year the revolutionary peasant union in Monogaya started a mass struggle for the seizing of the land of the landlords. The leaders were arrested by the police. Our Y.C.L. organized a mass demonstration in which 400 peasants took part. The demonstrators attacked the police stations, and the demonstration ended in a sanguinary clash with the police. It is worthy to note that 150 peasant women attacked three police stations.

In 1932 the bourgeois party, Minseito, organized on Ikinawa Island a mass movement against the attempt to establish a Leprosorium by the local municipal authorities who are members of the oppositionary Seiyukai party. More than 100,000 peasants took part in this movement. The revolutionary peasant organization took advantage of the movement to advance their demands for the cancellation of debts. The police arrested the leaders of this organization. In answer to these arrests, 5,000 peasants organized peasant committees, and demonstrations of protest demanding the release of their leaders. The demonstrators succeeded in capturing the offices of the municipality, from which they drove out the officials and established there their headquarters.

In 1932 and 1933 we organized in the villages two important mass movements, *i. e.*, the peasant committee movement and a mass campaign "for a free distribution of rice." Upon our initiative peasant committees were formed in important villages.

The struggle "for rice" is an important mass struggle of the peasants and unemployed workers. It was initiated by our Party and spread throughout the country last year. For example, in Akita 7,000 fishermen attempted to organize a mass struggle for rice. In Aichi 40 villages were involved in this campaign. In the Tochigi Prefecture alone, 20 villages took up the fight, demanding free distribution of rice by the municipal authorities.

Work Among Revolutionary Intellectuals. Our Party is working strenuously not only among the basic classes—the proletariat and the poor peasantry, but also among the wide strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, employees, teachers, professors, etc., who can play an important role in our fight against the monarchy.

The radicalization of the students is really a characteristic feature in present-day Japan. In 1932 about 1,000 revolutionary students were arrested and early this year, 1933, about 300. In June 1933 we had a big mass struggle of the university students. It rose spontaneously from the dismissal of a professor from the Kyoto University who wrote a "Marxian" book. Three thousand students declared a strike in protest against the Ministry for Education. The strike wave spread to other universities. In the Tokyo University, a mass demonstration took place. As a result, during 45 days from September to October, 362 students were arrested in the Tokyo University alone. We must emphasize that our Y.C.L. took the leadership of this movement. Our Y.C.L. has strong groups among the revolutionary students.

Our growing influence among the teachers of the primary schools is also characteristic. Arrests of teachers are frequently reported. Above all, the wholesale arrests of 230 teachers in Nagano Prefecture in February 1932 was most significant. Sixty-five schools were involved. In one school, 30 per cent of the teachers as well as the school master were arrested. Many schools were compelled to discontinue teaching. These revolutionary teachers produced revolutionary text books and stories for their pupils. They organized 15 Pioneer organizations. The police discovered that many school libraries were filled with revolutionary books. After the arrests, in some schools, the pupils refused to receive the newly installed reactionary teachers.

After the arrests, the educational authorities made a test examination of 91 boys and girls. The authorities published the following interesting results: 50 per cent of the pupils gave radical answers to the first question as to why their families were poor; 23 per cent gave an anti-war answer to the question concerning war in Manchuria and Shan-

ghai; 45 per cent praised the U.S.S.R. in reply to the question dealing with that country; 5 per cent expressed anti-monarchist ideas. This is only one example out of many. In the Ibaragi prefecture, we have a similar case.

The Minister for Education reported that 23 university professors and 23 teachers of higher schools were arrested.

Our Work in the Army. In conclusion I shall dwell on our work in the army and navy. Last year, our Party started a very good monthly for the soldiers called: *The Soldier's Friend*. In the Kure Naval Port, we also had a local paper for the sailors. These papers were filled with correspondence from the fronts, the barracks, the boats, the naval ports and the munition factories. There we find very interesting experiences of the comrades who worked in the boats and barracks. In spite of severe censorship, we have information concerning mutinies in the army and also mass arrests. In the Toyama Regiment, 50 soldiers attacked the officers in April 1933. In the Kure Naval Port, eleven sailors were arrested for organizing a Communist nucleus. On three of the biggest battleships three Party members (sailors) were arrested. Arrests of soldiers are also reported in the Hirosaki, Sakura and Kochi Regiments. In the military hospital of Tokyo, two soldiers were arrested. We must say that our women comrades are also doing good anti-war work.

This is information which the military authorities were compelled to publish. You can see even from these incomplete data that the Japanese army is not "the most loyal and strongest army in the world" as boasted by Araki.

We can say that if war against the U.S.S.R. breaks out in the future, the revolutionary soldiers will revolt against their commander, Araki, and they will transform their units into a Red Army which will turn its weapons against the Mikado.

A few words concerning the united front. In this respect we have serious defects. However, we are steadily overcoming our traditional sectarian attitude on this question. Last year we organized the League of Struggle for the release of the political prisoners and Friends of the Soviet Union. This year the Friends of Peace Society was organized in connection with the Shanghai Anti-War Conference. These organizations included not only the masses under our influence, but also those under the influence of "Left" reformist leaders and the intellectuals. Our struggle is winning ever more and more the sympathy and support of the broad masses. We are organizing a united struggle in Koto, a district of Tokyo, with the support of the workers of several factories who are in the "Left" reformist unions. However, we must frankly say that this work is far from satisfactory. The strengthening of the united front is one of the chief tasks of our Party.

VI. Conclusion

In the short time at my disposal I have tried to describe by concrete facts how the Japanese military monarchy is mobilizing all its reactionary forces for the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and against the revolutionary movement of the Japanese proletariat, and how at the same time the forces of revolution are growing and strengthening. Japan stands now on the eve of gigantic class conflicts.

However, owing to furious chauvinism, terror and the betrayal of Social-Democracy the discontent and revolutionary energy of the toiling masses are pent up and as yet have not burst open. Our immediate task is stubborn work among the masses in order to hasten the revolutionary outburst.

The action of the masses is still proceeding on a small scale in an isolated manner; it is spontaneous, and does not take the form of a great mass movement involving millions

of toilers, on a national scale, as we saw in the Rice Riots in 1919. Our Party has begun to strengthen itself and become rooted in the factories and mills, but it has not succeeded in arousing and mobilizing tens of thousands of the masses against war and starvation, under the banner of our Party. Our anti-war work is still insufficient. We have never stopped a single train, or a single boat which carried soldiers and ammunition to China and the Soviet borders. Before our eyes, the conditions for the revolutionary crisis are ripening; Japanese capitalism is on the brink of explosion. The counter-revolutionary war of Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. and Soviet China is approaching.

In order to fulfill our central task—to hinder the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. and to convert the coming war into a civil war—among others the following tasks are particularly pressing: Against the event of a war breaking out against the U.S.S.R., we must immediately more energetically and stubbornly expose the military preparations and the shameless provocation against the U.S.S.R. on the part of the Japanese military-monarchist government and mercilessly fight against chauvinism and social-chauvinism. We must conduct popular propaganda regarding the peaceful policy of the Soviet government, the gigantic victories of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., as well as the victorious progress of Soviet China. We must show to the masses that there is no way out of the present state of war and starvation except the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy as proved by the October Revolution which established the Soviet power, concentrate our forces to a much greater extent than hitherto on work in big factories which prepare war material for sea and railway transport. We must strive by every means to prepare and organize in practice mass actions in these industries, with the aim of hindering the production of munitions, stopping

military transport, causing revolutionary disturbances at the rear, etc. We must strive to organize on a united front basis mass strikes and demonstrations against the war budget, new burdens of war, high cost of living, driving the peasants from the land, etc.

We must develop our work in the army and in the navy more energetically and in a strictly secret manner. We must overcome our indifference towards work inside the auxiliary military organizations, the reactionary youth organizations, the fascist organizations, etc. We must organize self-defense corps in the enterprises and in the villages. We must overcome our more or less sectarian attitude toward the masses who are under the influence of social-fascism and fascism. We must actively and boldly approach the masses and organize a united front with them, on the basis of the most elementary demands of the working class. On the basis of the united front, we must organize and initiate a wide mass campaign: "Against war with the U.S.S.R.!" and "For the defense of the U.S.S.R.!"

* * * * *

Comrades, our Party has raised the slogan "Turn the Coming Imperialist War into a Civil War!" You can see that this slogan was not an empty slogan for us. You can see that our Party has been and is stubbornly, strenuously and firmly preparing for the carrying of this slogan into effect. Its influence is taking hold of wider and wider masses. It is not a party which can be easily crushed by a blow of the military-monarchist dictatorship. It is safeguarded, defended and strengthened by the great revolutionary initiative and energy of the revolutionary proletariat of Japan. Even Araki is compelled to admit openly that "the main danger for Mikado's Japan are the dangerous thoughts," *i. e.*, the Communist Party of Japan.

The overthrow of Japanese imperialism means the over-

throw of the imperialist gendarme and bulwark of counter-revolution in the East. The overthrow of Japanese imperialism means not only the emancipation of the Japanese toilers, but also the way towards the emancipation of all toilers in the East. Araki put up the slogan: "Pan-Asianism under Mikado's sway!" This means the subjection of the Eastern peoples under the yoke of Japanese imperialism. But the slogan of our Japanese proletariat is "the emancipation of all oppressed peoples and the establishment of a Federation of the liberated countries—Soviet China, Soviet Japan, Soviet Korea, Soviet Formosa, Soviet India, Soviet Indo-China, etc!"

We lost recently the founder, the leader and the father of our revolutionary movement, Sen Katayama. It is a great loss to us. But we, young Japanese Communists, will raise still higher the banner of Katayama, the banner of Japanese October, to which he devoted his whole life. You remember, thirty years ago when war broke out between Japanese and Russian imperialism, Sen Katayama, only one Sen Katayama, shook hands with the Russian delegation at the Congress of the Second International in Amsterdam. But now, not one, but thousands of workers and peasants of Japan are following their great leader, and are putting out their hands to you, the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. and China. We pledge here that we will carry out the great behest of Katayama to establish a Soviet Japan.

Down with the military fascist monarchist dictatorship in Japan!

Long live the U.S.S.R., its leader the C.P.S.U., and Comrade Stalin!

Long live the Chinese Soviets and their leader the C.P. of China!

Long live the world revolution and its leader the Comintern!

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